THE New Republic

Delmore Schwartz:

"Animal Farm" as A Motion Picture

PAGE 22

The State of the Union

JAN 13 1955

IS EISENHOWER'S PROGRAM SOUND?

An Appraisal by Richard Neuberger, John Sparkman, Robert Nathan, Clyde Mitchell, Brig. Gen. Thomas R. Phillips, Randolph Paul, Michael Straight, Richard Lester and Others.

JANUARY 17, 1955

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

20c

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T. R. B.

★

Washington Wire

In AD 1975 America will have a population of about 200 millions. To maintain its accelerating population and industry it must get raw materials from all over the globe. It must have these or wither. Already now, today, in AD 1955, US raw materials are running out. (Iron ore from Labrador and Venezuela is an example.) Two great Presidential businessmen's reports, those of the Randall and the Paley Commissions, have pointed this out—in thousands of words. America must lower its trade barriers in order (a) to get outside raw materials, and (b) to support a market abroad to buy our finished products. The old era is over; the new is here. America stands today where Britain did when London coupled free trade with world expansion.

Democrats have led Republicans on this tariff issue for 80 years. Twenty years ago Democrats passed the Hull Reciprocal Trade Program over the GOP's almost united opposition. Now at last the Democrats have got a Republican President who agrees with them. Ike knows the matter is desperately urgent. He knew this just as certainly when he made his trade recommendations in 1954, but he got frightened then of his own GOP opposition just as he was frightened of McCarthy. He hesitated and surrendered. Now Ike has got the courage of a Democratic election victory. The very first of his special messages to Congress pushes this program. If Ike fights for it, it will pass. If he weakens again it will fail.

This may seem a brutal way of dealing with the President. He is a man of infinite good will, anybody can see that. But does he have the boldness, let alone the skill, of his own convictions? Above all, does he have the courage? So much depends on the answer to this that we can only approach it prayerfully. Ike must see today that Asia is drifting toward Communism. Atomic war won't stop it but economic aid to have-not countries might. Ike says this himself. There was talk this fall of bold economic aid to Asia, a new, inspiring Marshall plan. That has now all been watered down. In a 57-minute State-of-the-Union speech there were only 7 lines for Asia. There was nothing about the one billion human beings in have-not nations who are now determined to improve their lot—if not one way then another. Does the President have the audacity and courage to do what needs to be done here and elsewhere? There were few signs last week, one way or another. Indeed, the speech was a temperate, pious, non-belligerent, pedestrian affair, muted to the American mood of normalcy, hard to criticize for what it said, and yelling to heaven for what it left out. There was little to rouse the imagination, nothing to exhilarate the spirit, no note of manly passion for liberties attacked or freedoms betrayed.

The President has over-ruled his Secretary of Defense and the Joint Chiefs of Staff by proposing a major cut-back of US armed manpower of about 380,000. His decision was apparently made rather suddenly. Ike told the joint session of Congress that the cut in plans was made at his "personal direction" after "long and thoughtful" study. He interpolated the word "prayerful" with the other two adjectives. We are in no position to criticize this judgment. This is far too vital a matter to attack from partisan motives. For good or ill Congress will call the members of the Joint Chiefs before it for their several opinions, and past experience shows that these will be given candidly, even when they are opposed to the Commander-in-Chief. (It is a curious procedure, not practiced, so far as we know, by any other big democracy.) As to the larger issue we are willing to be persuaded that bargain-counter, nuclear defense is safe, though it did give us the creeps to hear the President warn in the same address against the Soviet's "steadily growing" military power.

Ike's inspirational passages spring from the heart. You feel sometimes that he has the rosy glow of a man just come from a prayer meeting. It is a good feeling, a fine feeling, and the world would be better for more of it. There was much of that mood when the President defined the difference to Congress last week between the philosophies of democracy and Communism, with democracy paying greater respect to human dignity. At about that time a group of half a hundred hard-boiled reporters who don't normally go in much for inspirational philosophy were hammering Secretary Ezra Taft Benson about why he had tried to crucify Wolf Ladejinsky in the security case. It was one of the most remarkable press conferences in this city's history. The questions were critical, sarcastic, and sometimes downright insulting. Benson is a sweet man, a meek man, a pious man. He has the inner security of his own high motives which, indeed, cannot be questioned. In this case, as reporter Anthony Lewis recorded in the *Washington News* "he calculatedly refused to say one gracious word of any kind for Mr. Ladejinsky, who has been a federal employee for 19 years, most of that time in agriculture." Benson was utterly unrelenting. Sometimes we wonder idly who makes the better guardian of this sacred human dignity: a well-meaning Administration which is willing to pillory a defenseless civil servant (or else perhaps snatch him off the faggots for a new position of high trust without even an apology)—or a bunch of earthy reporters, who don't practice too much church-going, but who have an urgent sense of decency about giving a guy a fair shake.

Notes: Willingness of both parties to make a short campaign next year indicates they expect Ike and Adlai to run again with no need for a long personality build-up. . . Traffic experts blame the big highway death toll on cars built to go 120 miles per hour on 50 mile-per-hour roads why not a graduated federal tax, based specifically on horsepower to help moderate the speed demons? . . . Less than 10 percent of the Hoover Commission's first 250 "noncontroversial" proposals are enacted; now the commission is moving into "controversial" matters.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Continuing Influence?

THE LATE Pat McCarran was chairman, then ranking minority member, of the Senate Judiciary Committee for many years. During that time he carefully studded the committee's staff with men who shared his views and passions. And unless the new chairman, Harley Kilgore (D, W.Va.), cleans house he will find the ghost of McCarran peering over his shoulder and subtly interfering with his projects during the coming months.

But men like Chief Counsel Thomas Sourwine (McCarran's alter ego), assistant counsel Wayne Smithey (devoted supporter, as was McCarran, of the Bricker Amendment), and Immigration subcommittee counsel Richard Arens (who conceived and wrote the McCarran Immigration and Naturalization Act) are firmly enough entrenched to put up a stiff fight for their jobs and those of their aides. And since the Government Reorganization Act of 1944 stipulates that staff members should be hired and fired by a majority vote of committee members, the question of a continuing McCarran influence in this key committee will be decided by the Senators who join it this session. There are two vacancies, both Democratic: one to replace McCarran and one to constitute a majority.

In a showdown, McCarran's men could count on the support of all 7 Republican members except William Langer, retiring chairman, and possibly Arthur Watkins of Utah—leaving Jenner, Dirksen, Welker, Butler of Maryland and Wiley. Among present Democratic members, Kefauver undoubtedly would support Kilgore, McClellan probably would, Hennings of Missouri and Olin Johnston of South Carolina might, while James Eastland of Mississippi almost certainly would not. Price Daniel of Texas seems certain to be one of the new members—he is a lawyer and wants a say in immigration affairs; the man who decides committee assignments is his colleague from Texas, Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson. Daniel probably would side with Kilgore.

Herbert Lehman of New York, determined to get rid of the antiquated "quota" restrictions in the McCarran Act (*NR*, Jan. 12, 1952), wants the other vacancy, but Lehman is not a lawyer.

To help bring about a clean-up, the best candidate with legal background and seniority in the Senate is newly elected Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming, who served in the Senate for 19 years before the 1952 Eisenhower landslide and conducted the famous Temporary National Economic Committee investigation of monopolies just before World War II.

No Second Try

ON DECEMBER 31, the "Joe Must Go" club was convicted on 21 charges of violating the Wisconsin Corrupt Practices Act. The club was fined $4,200 by Circuit Judge Bruce Beilfuss for organizing as a Corporation then engaging in political activity, which Wisconsin law forbids. The club contended that advocating a recall election did not constitute political activity under the terms of the act and on this ground will appeal the Circuit Court's decision to the state Supreme Court.

Then, on January 4, five club officers (including its founder, Sauk City editor Leroy Gore) were charged with aiding, abetting and advising a felony in sponsoring petitions for the recall election. Preliminary hearings in this case will begin in February.

Since the failure of the first recall effort last June, Gore and his associates have seemed confident of organizing another, and until McCarthy was censured and Democrats won control of Congress there was some enthusiasm for a second try. Only 289,000 signatures would have been needed this time, as opposed to 404,000 last spring—the number is based on a percentage of the last gubernatorial election vote and the 1954 vote was much lighter than the 1952.

But with McCarthy apparently on the skids, enthusiasm for Gore's plan waned. And soon after the elections the state Democratic administrative committee adopted a resolution opposing the recall "on grounds of serious constitutional barriers and practical obstacles." They and the Anti-Joe Republicans and the farm and labor groups have not been able to agree on a candidate to oppose McCarthy should a special election be called. Raising enough money to conduct a high-powered campaign was impossible last spring when opposition to the Senator was at its height. Now it would be even more difficult.

But at least as important as the deflation of McCarthy as an issue in Wisconsin is the bad taste the "Joe Must Go" movement left in the mouths of Wisconsin voters. Conviction of violating the state's corrupt practices act only adds to this taste. The conviction probably resulted more from naïveté than from any evil design (the mistake was to incorporate the club, something every political group has known in Wisconsin for a long time) but the law was apparently broken.

There is in Wisconsin a widespread impression that Gore made money on the drive, especially since his book sold so well, particularly to recall workers. (Actually he probably lost money, but it doesn't seem so to the average voter.) And there never was a public accounting of the number of signatures obtained. Gore claims 335,000. His enemies halved this estimate. Gore's statement that he won't let anyone see the names on the petitions for fear of McCarthyite recriminations strikes voters as a bit melodramatic, as did his spiriting the petitions out of the state as soon as the drive ended last June.

All in all, the incompetence with which last year's drive and all the "Joe Must Go" club's public relations have been handled, combined with the McCarthy issue's current quiescence and Gore's inability to unite the loose amal-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gam of anti-McCarthy forces into an effective force, indicated that a second "Joe Must Go" drive would be stillborn. The Circuit Court decision makes it certain.

Point of No Return

DECISIONS which could result in the annihilation of millions are being made in secret councils with few citizens aware that their existence is at stake.

We like to think we have a choice whether to use atomic weapons, but this is not the opinion of Gen. Alfred M. Gruenther, supreme Allied Commander in Europe, nor of Field Marshal Viscount Montgomery, his deputy, nor of Gen. Lauris Norstad, his air deputy. All have declared that the point of no return has passed.

A small group of officials in Washington who are seeking to avoid atomic war do not agree. They do believe, however, that the decisions already taken permitting General Gruenther to plan and organize for the use of atomic weapons, together with secret decisions now being made in the Pentagon to organize our Army and Navy around nuclear weapons, will make it impossible for our forces to fight any war—colonial, peripheral, small or general—without recourse to atomic firepower after another two or three years.

As these people see it, the most critical period in human history is here now —this new year and for the next two or three years to follow. There still is a chance to draw back from making the world a vast crematory. But if current trends in military planning and organization continue, there will be no turning back. And the climax they see is the vaporization, the burning and the radioactive poisoning of tens and even of hundreds of millions of people.

Already at SHAPE, the argument goes that we have no recourse except to use atomic weapons. The reason given, other than the lack of sufficient conventional forces, is that the Soviets have them. Consequently the NATO forces must be dispersed to avoid atomic destruction. With such dispersion it will be impossible for the NATO armies to fight successfully against conventional formations, without using atomic weapons.

It is not surprising that statesmen without a military background do not know what is happening. They do not realize that once atomic bombs or artillery have been substituted for conventional artillery, that when ground forces have to disperse widely for protection against atomic attack, that when navies have become dependent on atomic depth charges against submarines and atomic guided rockets against air attack, there can be only atomic wars.

The small group of officials who are worrying about the decisions that are taking us past the atomic destruction point of no return believe that, first, the Congress, the public aand the Administration should be made to realize where apparently minor decisions on military planning and organization are leading.

They also feel that no military changes in organization should be made that will prevent Western forces from fighting a conventional war. This may lead temporarily to heavy defense costs on account of preparation to fight both a conventional and an atomic war.

And third, they would seek an agreement not to use atomic weapons, while being prepared to use them if enemy action makes it necessary. In the meantime, they would go ahead with the negotiations for controls and inspections and all the paraphernalia of assurances that an agreement will not be broken.

Neat Trick

ONE OF THE trickiest political chores in the US Senate is the bi-annual filling of committee vacancies. Each Senator knows exactly which Committees he wants to serve on, and most of them want the same few — Appropriations, Finance, Foreign Relations. Parcelling out the few vacancies without creating resentments which will plague him throughout the session is a severe test of the political acumen of a floor leader. Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson has just demonstrated himself as a genius at it.

There were two vacancies on Foreign Relations and at least a dozen applicants, all heavyweights. Johnson named former Vice President Alben Barkley (Ky) and Independent Wayne Morse (Ore). No one could quarrel with that, whatever his ambitions. Johnson also gave Barkley a place on the Finance Committee, thus recognizing his past service.

The controversial freshman Senator from Oregon, Richard L. Neuberger, was appointed to the Interior Committee, where he can best serve his state and devote himself to his first interest: Natural resources.

While on the whole matching jobs to talent, Johnson still managed to ensure the prevalence of Southern views on spending by filling three vacancies on the Appropriations Committee with Spessard Holland (Fla), John Stennis (Miss) and John McClellan (Ark). He himself took the second vacant place on the Finance Committee.

Johnson also put into effect his own unofficial amendment to the seniority rule: he refused to give anyone seats on two major committees until every Senator had one. Now Republicans probably will have to treat their men with the same consideration.

New Republic A JOURNAL OF OPINION

1826 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W. WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

VOLUME 132, NUMBER 3, ISSUE 2095

Michael Straight, *Editor*
Gilbert A. Harrison, *Publisher*
Helen Fuller, *Managing Editor*
Allan E. Aird, *Business Manager*

Tom Fitzsimmons, *Staff Writer*
F. R. Ruskin, *Administrative Assistant*
Eric Bentley, *Theatre Critic*
Robert Evett, *Book Editor*
Lucille Davis, *Copy Assistant*
Irvin Shapiro, *Design*

Published weekly and Copyrighted, 1955 in the USA by New Republic, Inc. Entered as second-class matter September 26, 1950, at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Single copy, 20c; Yearly subscription, $7.00; Foreign, $8.00; Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00.

THIS ISSUE

Washington Wire by T. R. B. 2

Behind the Headlines 3

The State of the Union 5
Defense, Economic Aid, Foreign Trade, Agriculture, Labor, Taxes, Social Security, Housing, Schools, Resources

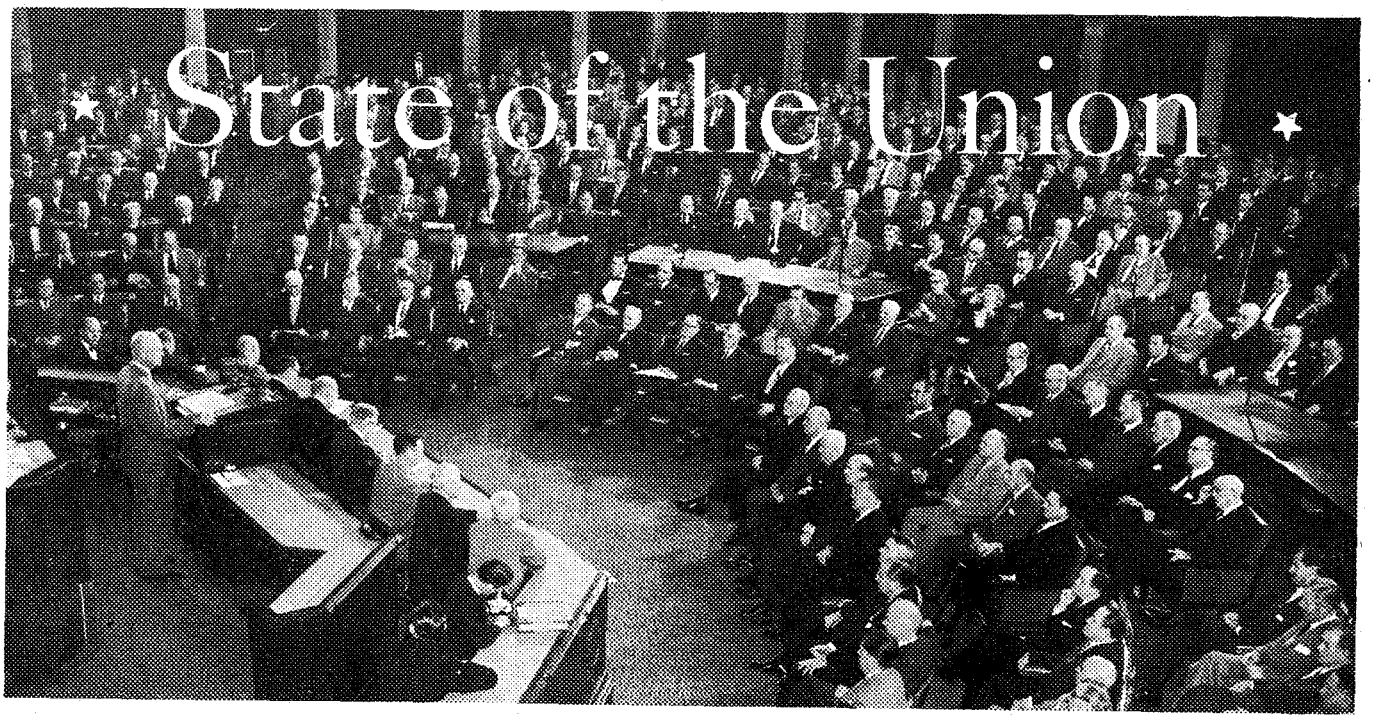
The Superficial Aspect 16

Books and Comment 17

Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Please include both old and new addresses, and, if possible, wrapper with stencil impression.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

State of the Union



by Michael Straight

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, in his State-of-the-Union message, places himself in that formidable political position—the center. His objectives are those that the great majority consider worthy. His outlook is optimistic, as most Americans wish it to be. His plea is for tranquillity—and who will oppose tranquillity? His approach is prayerful, and who will deny prayer?

The President has laid a basket of good intentions on the Republican Party doorstep. If the door remains closed and the President does no more than knock and wait, then the return of the Democrats is assured. But if the President by fighting for his program makes it his party's own, then the Democrats must move beyond it and find again the way ahead.

For 25 years the Democrats have stood for leadership and the Republicans for opposition. Now it is a Republican President who sets forth the goals of the national march. In terms of professed objectives the Democrats have little better to offer. But the adequacy of the President's program is not thereby proved. The programs set forth by the New Deal and the Fair Deal were not final objectives but the expressions of a forward-looking spirit that sought ceaselessly to exploit new opportunities and to overcome new imbalances before they mounted to threats of ungovernable size. It is this spirit that is missing in the President's address, and this spirit that the Democrats must recapture. For in a rapidly-changing world the political center is not the permanent fortress of national safety that it seems to be.

In describing the domestic economy the President's complacency is lyrical. "Business activity now surges with new strength. Production is rising. Employment is high. Personal income after taxes is at a record level—so is consumer spending. Construction . . . is reaching new peaks. Export demand for our goods is strong. . . ." And so on . . . Here are a few contrary facts.

At the end of 1954 the annual rate of total output was at least $12 billion below the early 1953 peak.

At the year's end farm parity reached its lowest point in 10 years.

At the year's end per capita income after taxes was lower than at the end of 1953 or in mid-1954; employment was one million less than at a year before.

Measured in terms of growing potentials and needs, the annual rate of production at the year end was $32 billion below full production levels, and employment was two million short. Contrary to the President's claim that "the economic outlook is good," no real upsurge in economic activity has taken place.

These shortcomings perhaps are less than alarming to the President because his confidence is of a deeper kind.

The comfortable and comforting quality of the President's address derives from its opening assumptions concerning the world conflict with Communism. "At issue," says the President, "is the true nature of man." The United States and its close allies, the President maintains, believe with the Psalmist that man is "a little lower than the angels." To our enemies, the Communists, "man is a soulless animated machine to be enslaved, used and consumed by the state for its own glorification."

If this were true then, of course, there would be no contest. The undivided nations who make up half the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

world's population, and even the citizens of Communist states whom we reach by radio could have no choice. Why, if they could be near-angels in imitation of us, would they choose to be soulless mechanized slaves?

The President assuredly can see no reason why. He rules out the competition of Communism at the political and ideological levels just as he ignores the ability of Russia and China to outbid us in appealing to Germany and Japan. The threat that he foresees is a military threat. He declares:

> The massive military machines and ambitions of the Soviet-Communist bloc still create uneasiness in the world. All of us are aware of the continuing reliance of the Soviet Communists on military force. . . . Their steadily growing power includes an increasing strength in nuclear weapons. This power combined with the proclaimed intentions of the Communist leaders to Communize the world is the threat confronting us today.

This threat the President proposes to overcome with "countervailing military power." However, he notes one further threat—"subversion." To frustrate subversion, the free nations, he holds, must "maintain and reinforce their cohesion, their internal security, their political and economic vitality and their faith in freedom."

All this, of course, is unexceptionable. But is it enough? In Europe, certainly, Communism has lost its ideological grip. Its attractions that we have yet to But even in Europe it is misleading to conclude that the problem is simply aggression, and the subversive tricks of the Communist underground. There are tremendous pressures pulling on the West German state to move into close—and legitimate—relations with Soviet Russia and her satellites. In Asia, moreover, Communism retains its ideological grip. Its attractions that we have yet to match are pulling the Asian nations toward Communist China with its horizons of industrialization and trade.

All Asia rates one paragraph in the President's hour-long address. He declares:

> In Asia and the Pacific the pending Manila Pact supplements our treaties with Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Korea and Japan and our prospective treaty with the Republic of China. These facts stand as solemn warning that future military aggression and subversion against the free nations of Asia will meet united response. The Pacific Charter also adopted at Manila is a milestone in the development of human freedom and self-government in the Pacific area.

Unfortunately the optimism of the paragraph is misleading. Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines and Korea are not Asia. And Asians do not look on the Pacific Charter as a milestone in the development of their freedom and self-government. The pact with Japan is for the defense of that island alone. "The Republic of China" is situated in fact on Formosa and the treaty in question freezes this anomaly into law. No "united response" against aggression is promised by pacts which India, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon have refused to recognize. Nothing could seem more misguided to these nations than the President's assumption that the Communist advance in Asia rests on military aggression and subversion and will be checked by the US and its united front of White Asia, the Philippines, Chiang and Syngman Rhee. Even this front, bound as it is by Mr. Dulles' pacts, will not hold together in the event of military action in Formosa or Viet-Nam— the two areas where Communist China may resort to force. The pacts are less a "solemn warning" than a solemn bluff.

The truth is that the President's complacency covers with paper thickness a gaping hole in his program—the lack of any policy toward China, and the lack of an Asian policy based on China's developing strength and appeal.

In the past the major reliance in countering Communist strength has seemed to lie in the generous use of American resources for economic and technical aid. Loyal to this concept, experts within the Executive prepared for submission to this Congress a large-scale economic program to match Communist economic growth in the non-Communist nations. But nothing more is heard of the program. At the first slap from the Secretary of the Treasury and the Senate it seems to have died.

Meanwhile the potentialities for an economic program in Asia are shrinking as economic and political issues in Asia shift in relative appeal. The non-Communist governments of Asia see in our stand on China and Formosa a mixture of irrational fear, selfish imperialism, white arrogance and neurotic rejection of reality with which they cannot afford to be identified. And if we cling to these attitudes while Communist China grows stronger the repulsion of our political rigidity will increasingly outweigh the attraction of our economic aid.

INDONESIA, whose economy may be the third richest in the world, is a useful indication of our present weakness. US diplomacy helped to bring the Indonesian state into being. US trade and aid has been a major factor in sustaining Indonesia since 1947. But today neutralism is a guiding principle in Indonesian foreign policy and the Communist Party is a growing force.

Two years ago the President acted as if the excision of radicals from the foreign service and the salesmanship of psychological warriors would suffice to roll back the Soviet and Chinese Communist frontiers. His new optimism is of a more relaxed and sophisticated kind. He accepts "stalemate" as an outlook in the belief that, given no more than our present effort, time is on our side. The thought is repugnant to Senator Knowland, Admiral Radford and the group for which they speak. It may be that they are driven by sound fears to unsound conclusions. Given our present effort stalemate offers a doubtful future in Asia. The alternative is not preventive war but an economic program and a political policy that can make an ally of time.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DEFENSE

"Split Personality"

by Thomas R. Phillips

THE PRESIDENT assumed personal responsibility for military policy in his State-of-the-Union message. "These emphases in our defense planning," he declared, "have been made at my personal direction after long and thoughtful study."

This was not news to the Pentagon. They have been in a state of confusion due to the President's interventions for some time.

In regard to force levels for the next 18 months, for example, just before the defense budget was complete, and not long before Christmas, the President directed that an additional 100,000 men be subtracted from the June 30, 1955, target and 35,000 from the June 30, 1956, goal.

Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson accepted this loyally, saying, "I didn't quite have the imagination myself to revamp the '55 figures because like everyone else over here I am a little inclined to take a program once we get it set and maybe stick to it too long."

The President, he added, "is in a better position to judge this thing than any man I know in the whole world."

The machinery was put into motion to bring men home early for discharge, to start skeletonizing units, and the slaves in the Pentagon worked nights and through the holidays to revamp the budget in accordance with the President's orders. Then a few days ago the judgment of the man who knew more about it than anyone in the world changed. He upped the figures for next June 30 by 60,000 men and for a year later by 35,000. And the laborers in the Pentagon have started a new round of night work.

The Secretary of Defense, who had had a rough time defending the previous unexpected change, this time wanted it in writing. "I have found so much value in the views underlying your decisions," he wrote the President January 3, "as to personnel strengths of the Armed Services that I wonder if you would give me the gist of them in written form. I should like very much to have them available during the next year to guide me in my consideration of these matters."

The President gave his military philosophy in three single-spaced typewritten pages on January 5. This supplements the expressions of military philosophy contained in the State-of-the-Union message.

"To protect our nations and our peoples from the catastrophe of a nuclear holocaust," he told the Congress, "free nations must maintain countervailing military power to persuade the Communists of the futility of seeking their ends through aggression. If the Communist rulers understand that America's response to aggression will be swift and decisive, they will be powerfully deterred from launching a military adventure."

The President avoided the threat of "massive retaliation." Nor was he satisfied merely with an armed truce. "This, of course," he said, "is merely a world stalemate. But in this stalemate each of us may and must exercise his high duty to strive in every honorable way for enduring peace."

The President emphasized five points:

First, a realistic limitation of armaments as a goal, but in the meantime the maintenance of powerful military forces "because there is no present alternative."

Second, balance and flexibility in the armed forces. He would not depend upon one weapon nor be prepared to fight only one kind of war.

Third, military planning should be flexible enough to utilize new weapons and techniques. In consequence, "the new budget emphasizes modern airpower in the Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps and increases the emphasis on new weapons, especially those of rapid and decisive striking power."

Fourth, "we must continue to improve and expand our supplies of nuclear weapons for our land, naval and air forces."

Fifth, efficiency and ingenuity in managing "these costly programs."

The President also told the Congress that he would submit measures later to provide for the extension of the Selective Service Act, which expires next June 30, to increase the attractions of the military service, including adjustments in pay, and to rebuild and strengthen the civilian components.

THE President's five points are in very general terms. What does he mean, for example, by a "realistic limitation of armaments?" Would he abolish atomic weapons or what? If the abolition of atomic weapons—the greatest threat to survival in the history of mankind—were in view, his military policy could hardly contemplate the continuing substitution of new weapons of "rapid and destructive striking power" for conventional forces. The West would be at the mercy of the Soviet Union and its large ground armies if atomic weapons were abolished.

The President told the Congress that we must be on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

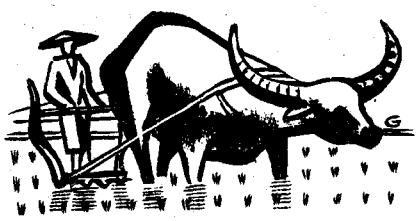
the alert not to rely on one weapon nor on preparation for only one kind of war. But the direction in which the budget is heading with the emphasis on "new" (atomic) weapons and air power will ultimately make us dependent upon one weapon.

The President argued that the "maintenance of an effective retaliatory force" is the "principal deterrent to aggression." The budget, he declared, "accelerates the continental defense program and the build-up of ready reserve forces."

There is a major inconsistency in the idea of atomic war and large reserve forces. The leaders and planners at Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe do not believe an atomic war would last more than a few weeks. Of what value are reserves which cannot be made ready until six months or more in such a war?

The President also spoke of the "strategic concentration of our strength through redeployment of certain forces." But the fact is that the strength of the ground forces is being reduced faster than men are being redeployed so that the strategic reserve is steadily being reduced.

There is nothing startling or new in the President's military recommendations. They follow the "New Look" line announced a year ago. The really significant thing about them is that they have not caught up with the implications of nuclear war. They are evidence of the split personality in all military thinking today—going in opposite directions at the same time—toward pre-atomic war and post-atomic war. The two are not compatible.



ECONOMIC AID

We Can Afford More

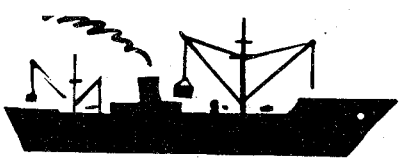
by Robert R. Nathan

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S State-of-the-Union message has sent forth no electrifying impulses to the far corners of the globe. Not the slightest inkling of anything dramatic, dynamic or daring on the foreign economic front is revealed in the President's first statement to the new Congress.

Instead there is emphasis on the force most Asians dislike and fear—a preponderance of US military might. Paragraph after paragraph in the message insists that "we must . . . gird ourselves with sufficient military strength." But buried in a paragraph on tariffs and trade is a passing reference to economic aid. Here the President says simply, "We must facilitate the flow of capital and continue technical assistance." But the export of private capital is a dribble not a flow, and technical assistance alone will not raise living standards overseas as the President supposes. The purpose of these programs, he states, is to "release forces of private initiative" overseas. Where in South Asia does he think these forces exist waiting to be released in time to turn the tide against Communist dynamism?

American know-how and capital must go abroad in far larger quantities if the *rate* of economic expansion of the rest of the free world is to keep pace with our own, let alone begin to narrow the gap. If a favorable economic environment is a prerequisite to resisting the inroads of Communism—as many analysts are convinced it is in the underdeveloped countries—then the United States must act speedily and daringly in making available adequate funds and personnel to help the people in those countries to help themselves toward that favorable economic environment. Whether these countries can effectively absorb one or two or even three billions of dollars in loans and grants a year is not the overriding issue. What they can utilize efficiently will certainly fall well within our resources. If we afford $40 billions a year for military purposes—and we can without impairing our high living standards—we can surely afford as much as three billions of dollars a year for economic development of the underdeveloped countries.

The absence of active hostilities in the world should not serve as an excuse for apathy. Nor should it bring back the old policy that strong military defenses alone will insure peace. Rather, it should afford an opportunity to forge a new offensive for the minds and hearts and spirit of free peoples everywhere by demonstrating that freedom and abundance are compatible and that the United States is deeply concerned with the achievement of those conditions around the world.



FOREIGN TRADE

Moderate and Progressive

by Raymond Vernon

IF THE President's policy of "moderate progressivism" ever needed illustration, his foreign-trade program surely provides it. The program is certainly moderate. And it can fairly be called progressive. In substance, the program adds up to a cautious effort to turn the slow tide of growing protection which has characterized American trade legislation for the past five or six years.

The recommendations contain no surprises. Last

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

year's report of the Randall Commission—a joint Presidential-Congressional Commission created by the 83rd Congress—broke ground for the formulation of the new policies. And the recommendations themselves, very much in their present form, were first offered by the President in the last session of Congress. After their introduction, however, the recommendations were quietly shelved in the face of the stony hostility of Chairman Reed of the House Ways and Means Committee and Chairman Millikin of the Senate Finance Committee.

THE President's policy is built about the familiar rallying point of every Administration's foreign-trade program since 1934, the renewal of the Trade Agreements Act. Six times since 1945, Congress has renewed the President's power to reduce American tariffs in order to carry out international trade agreements. The renewal of this power, which will expire on June 30, 1955, has come to be a weather-vane of American intentions in the field of trade policy.

This time, as the Randall Commission proposed, the President will ask for the first increase in the scope of his tariff-reducing powers since 1945. For the past nine years, the President has had the right to cut tariff rates to one-half of their 1945 level, but not lower. Since this authority was practically exhausted by 1951—except for a few rates in which Japan and the United Kingdom have a special interest—the power to reduce tariffs in accordance with the 1945 formula has been close to meaningless ever since.

The new formula is complicated. In effect, it will allow the President to negotiate with other countries to reduce most American tariff rates by 15 percent, a few rates by more than 15 percent, over the next three years. But the use of the power is circumscribed by many restrictions. As a result, a 10-percent reduction in American tariff rates by 1955 would be a substantial achievement under the law.

Besides attempting to renew and enlarge his tariff-negotiating authority, the President also plans to ask the Congress to approve "the organizational provisions" of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—the GATT. The GATT is a trade agreement among 32 nations. Since 1948, it has been the main instrument through which the United States had conducted its tariff negotiations. But the GATT has acquired even more significance from its growing role in the development of "rules of the game" among trading countries and in the settlement of international trade disputes. For years, the Congress made threatening gestures at the GATT. And the Randall Commission in its recommendations, was scarcely less unfriendly; in one of its more Delphian recommendations, the Commission proposed that the GATT'S activities be pruned back to those of consultation and mediation and that its "organizational provisions"—but not the rules it contains—should be submitted to the Congress for ratification.

The President's message, by its omissions, comes close to interring for the time being some of the Randall Commissions' bravest proposals. A bold plan to reduce in number and complexity the 8,000 or so tariff rates levied by our customs administration is to remain in limbo, to be studied by the Tariff Commission. A proposal to simplify the no less bewildering valuation system in our customs laws apparently remains shelved, even though the lower House approved it in the 83rd Congress. Instead, the Treasury will continue on its slow and cautious course in proposing amendments to some minor aspects of our archaic customs law.

The President apparently will rest content with the measures he has already taken to reduce the impact on imports of our "Buy American" laws. These laws, born in the Great Depression, provide that government agencies should favor domestic sources in their buying, unless the domestic suppliers are charging unreasonable prices for their products. Except for a brief period in 1951, government agencies automatically ruled out foreign suppliers unless their bids were 25 percent or more below the best domestic bid. Since foreigners also had to hurdle the American tariff barrier, their total handicap on government business commonly was 40 percent or more.

The Randall Commission, deploring the Act, had recommended that its application be suspended to bidders of any country which did not penalize American bidders. At first, the President endorsed the proposal. But last month, acting on his Executive authority, he reduced the 25-percent handicap which had prevailed for more than 20 years to a much lower figure; hereafter, in most cases, the "Buy American" handicap confronting foreign bidders will amount to 6 percent, unless the loopholes in the President's order are badly abused by the executive agencies. Here the matter rests; and here it is likely to rest for some years to come.

AGRICULTURE

Compromise Won't Work

by C. Clyde Mitchell

TO MANY listeners, the President's remarks on agriculture gave the impression that American farmers are doing fairly well: "A most significant element in our growing economy is an agriculture that is stable, prosperous and free." A look at the facts, however, shows that such an impression is incorrect. American agriculture is now neither stable nor prosperous, nor are farmers gaining in freedom. Their earnings for supply-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing food and fiber to America are down 14 percent since 1951, from $14.5 to $12.5 billion, with a further drop to $12 billion predicted for 1955.

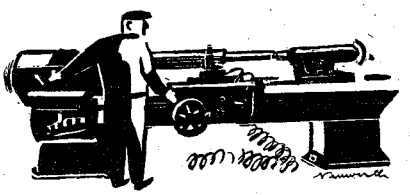
The President stated that the Administration's agricultural program has eased the forces depressing farm prices while reducing government purchases of surpluses and lessening federal control over farmers. Actually, the reduced price supports authorized by the last Congress will further depress farm incomes. Since these price reductions are the major force the Administration is depending upon to reduce surpluses and make production controls less necessary, the President's anticipations are not consistent.

The only way to raise farm income above its present depressed level and at the same time to reduce the surplus is to expand consumption programs at home and abroad. Some of these programs could be self-financing, but most of them would for a time at least require subsidy. They would include an expansion of school-lunch programs threefold, in order to benefit all American students, together with food distribution schemes to maintain at a decent nutritional level the diet of our low-income families, pensioners, unemployed and the institutionalized. Internationally, they would include export of our wheat and cotton, to help feed and clothe students in schools set up, with our help in the rural areas where education is presently unavailable.

The President did mention one depressing factor in the state of our Union—the 28 percent of our farm families who make less than $1,000 per year. The President promises legislation to alleviate "their most pressing concerns." These concerns have by now been studied intensively for two decades. The best answer so far has proved to be a combination of agricultural credit at low interest rates, plus educational supervision to enable low-income farmers to intensify their farm operations and earn a decent living.

Contrary to the President's basic assumption the lower support prices voted last year are not "inducing" farmers to reduce their production to any significant degree. Hence, production controls cannot be relaxed. On the contrary, relatively few farmers are able to respond to lower prices by reducing production. Although farmers do increase production when prices look good, they cannot decrease when prices head downward; their investments, both in specialized equipment and in skills, are "frozen" at the higher level.

President Eisenhower will shortly discover that the government's surplus headaches will, given normal weather, become more serious, and that production controls will have to be made more onerous. Our two major surpluses always threaten to affect other crops not yet surplus, as lands taken out of wheat and cotton are planted to other crops. Twice, this Administration has backed rigid "cross-compliance." It has required, that is, that land taken out of wheat be left idle or planted in crops not threatened with surplus. Both times, the Administration has back-tracked, postponing cross-compliance. The second postponement, made in October, apparently has enabled the President to say, "We . . . look forward . . . to less federal intrusion into the lives and plans of our farm people." But there is still a great deal of intrusion in the form of production controls, and if the Administration persists in trying to force farmers to "adjust" production downward to present demand, there will be no more. We need to face the fact that American agriculture cannot adjust downward to any significant degree. The only workable course, in both an economic and political sense, is to adjust demand upward as our capacity to produce increases.



LABOR

The Silence Is Eloquent

by Richard A. Lester

THE President's message on the State of the Union clearly reveals that few lessons have been learned from two years of fumbling. Ill-conceived and rejected recommendations for Taft-Hartley revision are repeated as though mental rigor mortis had set in. The recommended minimum wage is obviously minimal. Long-delayed and much-needed improvements in unemployment-benefit levels are only mentioned for the District of Columbia, thus inviting unions to negotiate adequate supplemental benefits under guaranteed annual wage programs.

The message's two sentences on the Taft-Hartley Act appear to be remarks for the record by a man, conscience-troubled with promises to labor in campaign speeches, yet unable to rise above the lowest common denominator between his Labor and Commerce Departments. The President merely "renews" his "recommendation of last year for amendment" of the law, and calls the attention of Congress "especially" to two minor proposals, namely, the granting of limited voting rights to economic strikers in representation elections and the rather meaningless filing by managements of "disclaimers of Communist affiliation." Eloquent is the President's silence concerning the Act's one-sided protection for management's farmed-out work in a strike and its single exemption for state "right-to-work" laws if they are more anti-union than the federal law.

As was proposed in hearings on Taft-Hartley in April, 1953, the law needs a thorough re-examination by a special committee, including experts and Congressmen,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which would make recommendations for basic revision. Unions and managements have developed considerably, and union-management relations have generally matured, since the turbulent first postwar year of 1946, out of which the Act arose.

Parts of the present law are needlessly insulting, practically ineffective, or completely unenforceable because they proscribe long-established practices adapted to particular industrial conditions. For instance, the closed-shop ban in Taft-Hartley is simply disregarded by many managements and unions, thus encouraging disrespect for law. Even in a state like Florida, which outlawed all forms of union security in a 1944 constitutional amendment, 11 percent of all union-management agreements have closed-shop provisions, another 5 percent retain union-shop clauses, and other firms have *sub rosa* arrangements for enforced union membership.

The omnibus approach to labor-relations legislation ("throwing the book at the unions" as one Taft-Hartley drafter expressed it) should be abandoned. As explained in the hearings two years ago, it concentrates all the ill-will on one act and one administrative board. Separate laws for particular purposes or subjects would seem less punitive and would force some needed rethinking. For example, one law might deal with representation and the duty to bargain; another might cover national emergency disputes. Political contributions and anti-Communism should be incorporated in existing statutes on those matters; the states might properly provide safeguards for benefit funds under state insurance regulation and also place any additional legal bans on labor racketeering, which is a local phenomenon.

A YEAR ago the Council of Economic Advisers blocked any minimum wage recommendations with some unfortunate remarks that revealed a marked ignorance of the practical operation and effects of such laws. The President's proposed increase from a 75-cent to a 90-cent minimum is inadequate now since it would be only a 20 percent rise, whereas average hourly earnings in manufacturing have increased about 32 percent since enactment of the 75-cent minimum in 1949. A corresponding increase in the federal minimum would bring it up to $1 an hour.

To obtain desirable expansion in coverage and needed flexibility, statutory provision should be made for industry committees, which are widely used abroad, operated under the original Fair Labor Standards Act, and still apply in Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. Through such committees, temporary adjustment of an industry's minimum down, say to 90 cents an hour, could be permitted if, after review of all the circumstances and enforcement problems, such action seemed warranted to a tripartite group.

The President's message does not augur well for improvements in labor legislation at this Congressional session. More skillful and inspired leadership would greatly enhance the prospects.

TAXES

"Most of Us Agree..."

by Randolph Paul

THE President's 1955 State-of-the-Union message recommends no drastic tax revisions and reductions as did his 1954 message. His 1955 message is specifically concerned with maintaining at their current level corporation income taxes and certain excises scheduled for automatic reduction on April 1, 1955.

There can be legitimate debate about certain statements in the President's speech, such as his inclusion of recent tax revision in the list of "actions" which "helped to halt inflation and stabilize the value of the dollar." There has been practically no inflation since March, 1951, which was a long time before the 1954 revenue revision. However, there can be no fair quarrel with the Administration's desire to maintain revenues by foregoing the corporate tax cut due on April 1, 1955. Corporations and their stockholders received very substantial tax relief in 1954—about 70 percent of that year's "record tax cut." Although it may be an exaggeration to say that it "surges with new strength" when it is falling well below the level of 1953, business activity is at a high level. There is no indication that further corporate-tax reduction would increase business activity; if this is true, a reduction at this time would lose necessary revenue without compensating help to the economy.

Most of us will agree with the President's position in favor of the continuation at their present level of the excise taxes scheduled for reduction on April 1st. However, a sharp eye should be kept on the economy during the next few months. If consumer markets do not keep pace with the current increase in production it may be desirable to increase consumer purchasing power by reducing the individual income tax. Last year's "record" tax reduction avowedly focused upon the stimulation of investment. But manufacturers need purchasers for the goods they make. At the moment there is some prospect that purchasers will not increase in proportion to production. If this happens, support of purchasing power through some reduction in personal income-tax rates appears preferable to a reduction of the excises scheduled for automatic reduction in April. For instance, a 2-point decrease in rates on all income brackets would reduce

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

revenues slightly less than the $100 increase in exemptions advocated last year by some members of Congress, and would provide a more level reduction among individual taxpayers. If a decrease in the rate brackets is unacceptable, the next best expedient would be an increase in the personal exemption.

The President is certainly justified in his statement that the "prosperity of our small business enterprises is an indispensable element in the maintenance of our economic strength." However, he has hardly proved his claim that "recently enacted tax laws" have facilitated small business expansion. It can be argued that the automatic expiration of the excess-profits tax gave aid to small business. But, there is little in the 1954 tax revision which will help small business to compete with big business. According to records recently published by the Federal Trade Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission, profits after taxes of all manufacturers dropped by 3.3 percent from second quarter of 1953 to second quarter of 1954. But profits after taxes of the smallest size category of manufacturers (those with assets up to $250,000) dropped 43.1 percent. Intermediate size firms (those with assets from $250,000 to $10 million) had a decline in profits of 25.7 percent. The next largest group (those with assets from $10 million to $100 million) had a decline of 13.6 percent. On the other hand, the largest manufacturing corporations (those with assets of over $100 million) had an increase in profits of about 10 percent.

These figures should not be surprising when we remember that the year 1954, while "one of the most prosperous years in our history," was decidedly less prosperous than the year 1953. Indeed, by the standard of 1953, it was a mildly recessionary year. The mildest form of recession in the economy as a whole has its greatest impact upon small business which cannot diversify its risks as can big business. This is one of many available illustrations of the deceptive capacities of across-the-board figures. They may look good on the surface, but they may conceal more than they reveal. In this instance they fail to show the necessity, from the standpoint of the welfare of small business, of a constantly expanding economy. Second-best years and sidewise movements are not good enough for small business. The best way to facilitate small business expansion is to move forward every year.

SOCIAL SECURITY

What Was Not Said

by Nelson H. Cruikshank

IN CONTRAST to those of 1953 and 1954 this year's State-of-the-Union Message does not call for significant changes in the social security legislation. The scant mention of the Federal Old-Age and Survivors Insurance program is devoted to a recitation of the achievements of the 83rd Congress in broadening the coverage and increasing the benefit levels.

Actually the Administration deserves credit for the leadership it exerted in this field during the last two years. Except for the President's endorsement of a postponement of the scheduled increase in the rates of contribution to the trust fund—a position which he later abandoned—the beguiling slogans of the Chamber of Commerce to "end discrimination among the aged" and for "pay as you go" failed to enlist adherents from among government officials in support of their schemes to destroy the essential character of our contributory social insurance program.

It is unfortunate, however, that the President and those in his official family responsible for developing policy in this field (which includes the Council of Economic Advisers and representatives of the Treasury Department as well as the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare) should apparently feel that the modest improvements adopted last year represent a finished job. In this respect the message is more significant in terms of what was not said.

For example, there is the matter of the wage base. When the Social Security Act was passed in 1935, limiting to $3,000 the annual earnings on which contributions were collected and benefits computed, this was not serious as about 96 percent of all workers' wages came under this figure. The 1950 amendment raised this to $3,600 and last year's changes brought it to $4,200. In view of the opposition of insurance companies and the Chamber of Commerce the increase did indeed represent something of an achievement for a Congress not particularly distinguished for its record in the field of social legislation. But the $4,200 limit brings us up only to the 1949 level of wage increases. In other words, last year the Administration asked Congress to do in 1954 what it should have done in 1949 if it intended to maintain the same level of wage coverage it established in 1935. Failure to move the wage base up to a realistic level acts to hold down benefits.

Still more significant is the failure of the message to acknowledge the remaining gaps in the protections afforded by our social insurance. The most glaring failure of our present system is in protection to the income of a family whose breadwinner becomes physically disabled. The half-way approach to this problem through state public assistance authorized in the 1950 amendments, with its means test requirements and capricious determinations of levels of relief, has proved its inadequacy.

In the one area of social security where the message calls for positive action, namely the adoption of the Kaplan Committee recommendation for combining the protection of the civil service retirement system and OASI for government employees, the chances of accomplishment are not improved by the over-simplified argu-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment offered in its support. There is a serious question as to whether it is really possible to provide social security coverage for civilian government employees "just as in private industry." While it may be theoretically possible, the question is whether it is politically practicable in view of the fact that the employer (in this case the government) will have to make what amounts to voluntary contributions to two systems which is not true in private industry. Government employees will want to take a long look at what the President refers to as "certain adjustments in the present civilian personnel retirement systems" before agreeing to any wedding of the two programs.

The message's references to unemployment insurance are scanty but eloquent—again mostly in terms of what is left unsaid. If the Federal Government is to do anything at all to recover the ground lost in this field during the past 10 years it must start with the simple fact demonstrated at the time the programs started nearly 20 years ago, namely that state unemployment insurance acts respond primarily to direct financial incentives: employer experience rating on one side and offsets against federally imposed payroll taxes on the other. Specifically this means any improvement at the state level will come *only* when the meeting of federal standards relating to benefits, and eligibility are made a condition of the offset.

HOUSING

Demand Exceeds Supply

by John Sparkman

THE President has recommended that we build 70,000 low-rent public-housing units during the next two years. This number is pitifully inadequate to meet the needs of low-income families, and I hope and believe that members of his own party will join in raising these low sights. As a matter of fact, with Presidential commissions, housing investigations, and with all of the resources of the Federal Government available to bring to public knowledge information as to our national housing needs, I am surprised that the President asks for so little

While he admits that homes are needed for low-income families, he requests only a token amount. Let us hope that before final legislative action is taken the President will recommend a fuller program. If not, may we hope that he at least will vigorously urge members of his own party to support the small program he has recommended. It is recalled that such was not the case last year. He raised no protest when his party's leaders tied in knots and made unworkable the woefully small program they did approve.

The annual housing problem is staggering as to both human values and human needs.

Sixty-eight percent of our urban families have incomes of less than $5,000 today, and 28 percent of them have incomes of less than $3,000 annually. They are the families whose housing need is desperate.

Labor organizations and others who have kept in constant touch with our housing problems estimate that if we are to begin to demolish slums and rehouse families of low and middle income in decent shelter, and also keep abreast of normal annual needs, we should be building at least 2 million new homes a year.

The 1950 Census revealed that there were 15 million substandard homes in this country, with 10 million in urban centers. Some 10 million need to be replaced and perhaps 5 million are subject to rehabilitation. That was five years ago—we have done little to remedy the situation. At the rate of present construction, fine as it is for upper middle-income families, we will never get rid of 1950's slums or those that are constantly added to the total.

While we are concerned about the rotten buildings, what we should really be concerned about is what happens to the families forced to live in them.

Prior to 1949, Committees of the Congress thoroughly investigated our national housing plant. We passed a housing bill that year and estimated that we needed at least 1,500,000 new homes a year for a period of 10 years. Of that total we would have built over a six-year perior, 810,000 homes of low-rent public housing to care for families of very low income, living largely under slum conditions.

The least that we should do for such families is to reactivate the authorization of the Housing Act of 1949, and permit the remaining 500,000 or more homes approved in 1949 for construction by 1955 to be built at a far more rapid pace than the President recommends.

The President's message also neglects the tens of thousands of low income families that require no subsidy. These families must have better credit facilities to make possible lower monthly housing costs that will enable them to obtain decent, safe and sanitary shelter.

These and other facts must be met head on if we are ever to catch up or even stand still in filling our housing needs.

It is time that we approached slum clearance, redevelopment, urban renewal and adequate housing for all American families in terms of "massive retaliation"—massive retaliation against the moral, social and economic inroads that have been made in our way of life by America's slums and inadequate housing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCHOOLS

Commendable Reversal

by Edgar Fuller

WHAT the public schools need from the Federal Government is substantial financial assistance for school construction, with full fiscal accountability by the states to the Federal Government but with state and local administration of all aspects directly affecting the educational programs of children. Every presumption should be made that the President's message marks a change in the Administration's previous opposition to such a program. Better late than never.

The President's message at least makes it clear that there has been a change in the Administration's 1953 position that federal assistance for school construction must wait until after the White House Conference on Education late in 1955. Whether this is significant in terms of increased school facilities without further delay depends on the program the President will send to Congress on February 15.

On this basis there is little reason for optimism. Most of the influences in and around the Administration have committed themselves deeply to the 1953 position. The Commissions and Committees appointed to make recommendations have been loaded with persons already known to be strongly opposed to federal assistance for school construction, and their membership remains substantially unchanged.

The best evidence that the Administration may yet go to almost any length to forestall the financial assistance needed came from the White House itself. The official text of the State-of-the-Union message as released shortly before the message was delivered used the word "catalyst" in referring to the federal responsibility for assisting school construction. At the last minute the word was changed to "agent." Webster says a "catalyst" accelerates a reaction but is itself recovered practically unchanged. What the Federal Government as an "agent" will do remains to be seen, but if it seeks to be only a "catalyst" it may easily damage rather than assist in the construction of schools.

Well substantiated verbal and printed reports in Washington indicate that the federal gesture may be only a new federal agency, set up in corporate form to insure state school construction bonds, "encourage" establishment of similar "Authorities" in the states, and perhaps grant small doles to a few school districts judged to be most in need. This is essentially the "catalyst" approach. It lends itself well to public advertising, but it would be fundamentally objectionable to most educators and citizens closely associated with the public schools. It would violate the basic policies of the leading lay and professional organizations on federal and state administration of public education, which call for federal administration in the US Office of Education and state administration in the state education agencies.

Special State School Building Authorities are unconstitutional in some states. Experience in a few states proves that they must pay much higher interest rates on school bonds than local school districts or the states themselves. Such "Authorities" spend public funds without public responsibility. They complicate the work of superintendents and school boards by usurping such educational decisions as the location, type and character of the facilities for teaching. Even when legally organized, they would be mere subterfuges to avoid tax and debt limits and substitutes for forthright solution of the problem.

Elementary justice demands that the potential change in the Administration's program result in substantial federal funds for school construction. Last year it increased federal funds for highways from cash grants of $585 million annually to $885 million annually, and on January 27 the President will urge further expansion in a special message to Congress. Federal financing of physical facilities has been greatly increased in many fields at the same time comparable assistance has been denied for schools. These federal programs require increased matching funds in the states, thus providing powerful incentives to skim off state and local taxes and bonding capacity that would otherwise be available for school construction.

The National School Facilities Survey shows school building needs far beyond the practical ability of the states and local school districts to supply. There are serious needs in every state. Hearings of the Kearns Subcommittee in the House in October, 1954, brought testimony from 47 states and all but one territory. The adverse testimony came from the National Association of Manufacturers and the Administration.

Judging from the several bipartisan bills to provide federal funds for school construction introduced during the opening days of the 84th Congress, it is unlikely that Congress will consent to further delays or to mere gestures in this field. Let us hope the President will participate in getting "the affirmative action now" he has called for, and that the program he sends to Congress on February 15 will be commensurate with the need and suitable for bipartisan enactment.

RESOURCES

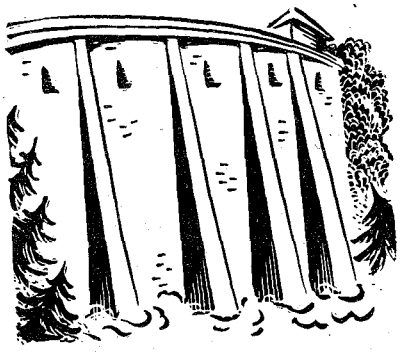
Funds For Fish Ladders

by Richard L. Neuberger

AS ENUNCIATED by the President, the resource program of the Eisenhower regime adds up to delay, abandonment or downright exploitation.

The President claimed that his so-called partnership program "is producing good results." Yet it has gener-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ated no kilowatts and yielded only lawsuits in the Northwest. Mr. Eisenhower promised that the federal government would undertake "projects of such complexity and size that their success requires federal development." Measured against current deeds, these words sound pretty thin. The Hell's Canyon site on the Oregon-Idaho border fits completely the President's description of a project which only the national government can develop to full capacity. Yet, even as the President spoke, his own Interior Department was promoting piecemeal ownership of this great river gorge by the Idaho Power Company, an absentee-dominated monopoly.

Furthermore, the writers of the President's State-of-the-Union speech seem not to have coordinated with the all-important Bureau of the Budget. In addressing the Congress, Mr. Eisenhower admitted that "federal hydroelectric developments supply but a small fraction of the nation's power needs." This jars strangely with a statement by Budget Director Hughes in November, warning of the peril of "a nationwide federal power monopoly." And, indeed, the President himself was issuing such warnings when he delivered political speeches in the Northwest during the recent campaign.

In promoting his partnership power policy—a partnership in which the government gets fish ladders and flood gates while private utility companies receive 50-year leases on the revenue-producing powerhouses—the President totally overlooked the success of the previous legitimate partnership between the Bonneville Power Administration and the people of the Columbia River Basin. Already, for example, receipts from power sales have paid for 37 percent of the hydroelectric investment in Bonneville Dam and for 24 percent of that at Grand Coulee Dam. In fact, the financial solvency of the power program abandoned by Mr. Eisenhower and his Cabinet is the compelling reason why utility corporations hope to take over hydroelectric benefits on the Columbia River system, through the partnership scheme suggested by the President in his message.

Mr. Eisenhower indicated no retreat from the position of his Administration on issues like the Hope-Aiken grazing lands bill and the Ellsworth timber-exchange bill. One of these measures would make the privileges of 18,000 stockmen superior in the National Forests to the rights of 33 million fishermen, campers and hikers. The other would allow the big lumber companies (and only the big companies) to acquire choice timbered sections of the National Forests if the government took their own acreage for any purpose. These proposals were endorsed in 1954 by the Administration, although they would have turned back the conservation clock not to the period before Franklin D. Roosevelt but to the era of exploitation which existed before FDR's distant cousin, Theodore Roosevelt.

On January 6 the President spoke vaguely of developing resources "primarily by private citizens under fair provisions of law, including restraints for proper conservation." Judged by previous statements from the White House, this phrase means that the *status quo* in the Eisenhower Administration prevails.

Furthermore, the Presidents continuing attitude toward Alaskan statehood is a disappointment to those who hope to see wise and prudent use made of the forest, fishery and mineral resources of our great frontier in the North. Mr. Eisenhower promised statehood when "the complex problems of Alaska are resolved." This is tantamount to a doctor offering to treat a patient after he has recovered. Statehood assures the only genuine solution of the twin evils of exploitation and absenteeism, which have plagued Alaska for half a century.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS SECTION

RAYMOND VERNON was formerly a staff member of the Randall Commission and director of the Office of Trade Policy in the State Department.

ROBERT R. NATHAN, consulting economist, is registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act as an agent for the Government of the Union of Burma and the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

BRIG.-GEN. THOMAS R. PHILLIPS (U.S.A., retired) is military analyst for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch.*

C. CLYDE MITCHELL is head of the Department of Agricultural Economics at the University of Nebraska.

RICHARD LESTER is chairman of the Division of Economics at Princeton University.

RANDOLPH PAUL, in law practice in New York and Washington, was formerly general counsel of the Treasury Department.

NELSON H. CRUIKSHANK, Director of Social Insurance Activities for the American Federation of Labor, expresses only his personal reactions to the Eisenhower Message.

JOHN SPARKMAN, Democrat, is the junior Senator from Alabama.

DR. EDGAR FULLER is executive officer for the State Commissioners and Superintendents who administer federal education in all the states and territories.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Democrat, is the junior Senator from Oregon.

Other parts of the Eisenhower program, including his proposals on health and highway construction, will be dealt with in the *New Republic* following the Special Messages to Congress on each.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GERALD W. JOHNSON

★

The Superficial Aspect

THE LOGIC of events that is compelling the Democrats to make a President of Eisenhower whether or not they like it, or he likes it, has all the elements of high comedy. For the first week of the year it produced a stillness in Washington by comparison with which that at Appomattox was pandemonium. In all the capital only McCarthy spoke in a loud tone of voice, and he is cold turkey now. Even Mr. Eisenhower's synopsis of his eight coming messages was pitched in a low register, and was received with perfunctory murmurs on both sides.

The Republicans took a licking in November and are naturally subdued. The Democrats are taking control of Congress and, like the farmer who was going to Bangor to get drunk, gosh, how they dread it! For six of Eisenhower's eight proposals were too close to good Democratic doctrine to be rejected, yet if they are enacted they will give him a batting average of .750, which is colossal in any league. It is a situation unprecedented within living memory, which explains why all public discourse in the first days of the new year was conducted *sotto voce* as in an undertaker's parlor.

THAT dreadful impulse to giggle that sometimes seizes people in the midst of a funeral may overcome those of us who are in a position to see only the superficial aspect of affairs, but it ought not to extinguish our keen interest; for there are some indications that we are about to witness an extraordinary spectacle, that of both major parties simultaneously trying to practice statecraft, instead of politics. No doubt it is an expedient to which politicians would resort only in the last extremity, but isn't this just about the last extremity?

Two circumstances suggest that it is. The election of last November indicated that the people, entertained by it for awhile, are now fed up with ruffianism. McCarthy wasn't finished by the vote of censure; he was finished by the evidence that he has kept his needle in the same groove for too long, and has become a bore. The nemesis of demagogues is that the people can take only so much of their stuff and then all at once are tired of it; and that is the end.

The other circumstance is the fact that control of Congress is balanced on a razor's edge. Neither party can afford to lose a single vote in either house. Any member who starts a program of self-aggrandizement will alienate some votes and upset the balance, which will make him very, very unpopular with his fellow-partisans. Nor can either party under such conditions afford to take an extreme position on any important issue. It is a case of all hanging together or all hanging separately, which is a wondrous incentive to brotherly love within the party.

Since the two generally accepted methods of playing cheap politics are ruffianism and lunacy, and since both are out at present, there would seem to be nothing left but statecraft. Which points to the comfortable, if almost incredible, conclusion that the American people have a chance of being unusually well served by the new Congress.

IT WILL be a terrible strain on all hands, but the outcome in 1956 probably hangs upon which party cracks first. As of this moment the betting is obviously on the Republicans. Normally, they would have the advantage since they have a spokesman in the White House who affords them a logical and convenient rallying point, while the Democrats have only a titular leader whom nobody is bound to follow.

But there is evidence that some Republicans are so besotted with hatred of Eisenhower that they have become maudlin. That is in itself nothing unusual; every President is hated by a segment of his own party. The fatality in this instance is that they hate him without fearing him; he has been so easy-going that his own Senate leader did not hesitate to challenge the very heart of his foreign policy at a critical moment, and nothing happened to the leader. Think of anyone's trying that on Theodore Roosevelt! But why go back to T. R.? If anyone tried it on Harry Truman the Washington air would have been so full of feathers that they would have cancelled all flights at the National Airport.

Of course this is not conclusive. The Democrats have proved over and over again that as a party they are capable of an asininity that can snatch defeat from the very jaws of victory, and they may give a repeat performance at any moment; but on form their backers should offer two-ten for a two-dollar bet.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & COMMENT

Superman and his Sister

by Geoffrey Wagner

SUPERMAN made his debut in the June, 1938, issue of *Action Comics*, a booklet still going strong, and his was the most popular comic-book formula till the crime-comic came along. By now, of course, he has a team of potent impersonators, from Kid Eternity, Mister Universe, down to such engaging mites as Doll Man—and he has a subsister in Wonder Woman.

It is important not to prevaricate at the start and to admit at once that, without quibble, in varying degrees of intensity, these heroes all have one thing in common—they hate brains. Buy a *Captain Marvel Jnr* and see how the scientists this boy prodigy with the bulging biceps is constantly busy rescuing are nearly always hopeless fools, either idiotically forgetful or just plain lunatics responsible for catastrophic inventions—a conception of the American scientist I should hardly have thought wise to encourage these days. *Captain Marvel Jnr* no. 104 features a typical story of a stupid scientist who invents a robot that runs amok and threatens to smash the world. The last page but one consists solely of the illustrated "words": "WHIRR...KLANK...KLINK... KRUMP...THUMPETY ... WHACK ... KRANK ...THUD!" As a character in *Whiz Comics* no. 1421 puts it as he knocks three others flying ("SMACK...UGHH...POW!") "Your friends, Mike, have a limited vocabulary."

Limitations of vocabulary do not, however, prevent young Marvel from saving the scientist by means of his superior brain. He wrecks the robot and comments sarcastically in the last picture of all, "Thinking up another idea, Professor?" In *Crime Must Lose* no. 11, as a matter of fact, there is a crime-character ironically nicknamed "Brains"; he crushes his chief rival under a lead chandelier with a splash (he himself, however, is mown down with a tommy-gun by his victim's busty blonde sister in the next picture). In brief, then, the Superman ethos is to drive a man's teeth through the back of his skull, at the same time saying, with a leer, "Got to reason with these guys." At times, of course, even Superman's urbanity can slip and I once found him so far forgetting himself as to say to an enemy, "I'm going to break you up like kindling—bone by bone!"

SUPERMAN is, to my mind, however, less obnoxious than his subsequent impersonators. Batman is one of these, hooded, begauntleted with a strong right in place of the normal processes of the law. He has a young and adoring helper, called Robin, and his enemy is again often the intellectual. In *Batman* no. 74 he has three villains to cope with, all of them brainy, and the first, called "The Joker," ends up in a padded cell, the proper place, presumably, in this universe for those who think. As Batman dives on his second victim in the final act of "justice," he tells him that none may escape Batman's law—and delivers a haymaker with his left.

Plastic Man, being made of a rubbery plastic, can be stretched limitlessly in any direction. His head cannot be pulled off his shoulders and he can administer a sock on the jaw from the distance of fifty yards or so. In *Plastic Man* no. 40, "Plas," as he is known to his intimates, starts off in an FBI office—"Yawwwn! I've never seen crime so dull! Chief! I wish something would happen!" It does.

Using his arms as lassoos, as ropes for binding recalcitrant prisoners, and for slugging round street corners, Plas swiftly fixes things up and catches the crooks, including a hula-hula dancer who turns men into monsters by hypodermic injections and cool Cola drinks. Mister Universe, on the other hand, likes to come to closer quarters with his victims than our pal Plas. He is an expert wrestler and in a ten-page story I counted thirty-four out of sixty-seven pictures of this hero actually tying one of his opponents into knots. But both Plas and Mister Universe are mild in comparison with Blackhawk and the Marvel family.

Blackhawk heads a small gang of thugs, including, for comic (?) relief, one Chop-Chop, a confessedly pro-Chiang Chinese. Blackhawk knows his present-day political scene as only a few gifted characters, like Senator McCarthy and Mickey Spillane, seem to. There are only two sides in this world, Russian Communism and American Republicanism, and you must choose one or the other. A typical issue, then, no. 61, finds the gang up against "a horror so simple, so fiendishly ingenious that it walks beside you and me on the street, and we cannot recognize it." What else could this be but American Communism?

The first picture sets the tone; it shows the boys busting in on the platform of commie speakers ("It's just like shaking apples out of a tree!") and Blackhawk himself smacking open the jaw of one of the offenders concerned ("Too bad they're all rotten, Olaf!"). *Blackhawk* no. 62 shows the leaders splitting open the jaw of a Russian soldier, and so on. We open in no. 61 with a meeting of the United World Council, a parody of the United Nations Assembly, and the comment, "What need have we for world police with the Blackhawks on the job?" In pursuit of the commies, Blackhawk flies to Paris, where the gang finds reds everywhere and crack another meeting to smithereens: "We came here to work on troublemakers like you," a statement to which Chop-Chop adds the penetrating piece of *Realpolitik*, "All Blackhawks got plenty hammer for commie jaws!"

IT should be pointed out that Blackhawk is a "real" Superman-type of comic-book. Blackhawk does not defy the laws of gravity; he is supposed to be a perfectly possible human being like you and me. The Marvel family, however, who interfered in the Korean war fairly consistently, consist of Captain Marvel, Captain Marvel Jnr, and Miss Marvel, whose swirling skirt seldom comes much lower than her lap. Take the first story in *The Marvel Family* no. 78, a patriotic legend entitled "The Marvel Family Battles the Red Star of Death." This latter personifies the red soldier in Korea in these stories, an unshaven, toothy Russian who evidently goes into action in Korea with a whip rather than a rifle and who makes remarks like, "Die, Yankee dogs!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let your blood and bone splatter all over the landscape!" One page in this comic book features the word "WHAM!" four times, each letter measuring three-quarters of an inch in thickness. This is essentially a simple tale. Captain Marvel stops an American general from calling a "full-scale retreat" after the man has read one enemy pamphlet, and goes on to halt a bombing raid in mid-air. He deals as easily with Ruski soldiers as he does with those undefined foes who swear "By Buddha!" The "red vulture" himself is personally KO'd by the Captain, Miss M. administering a ladylike kick to the jaw ("CHUMPFF!"), followed by a snorting right hook ("WHAM!" again, I fear). In *The Marvel Family* no. 81, where the Marvels go after the "mightiest Mongol," a young Marvel shows that he is not behind the rest of his family in brutality; he mops the floor, literally, at the end of a stick, with a colored, Mongolian enemy.

It must be said that there are those who find nothing harmful in the Superman type of comic book. "Mr. Harper," in *Harper's Magazine* for July, 1947, disagreed with criticism of this kind of comic, and Coulton Waugh, in his book, *The Comics*, regards Superman as a modern Paul Bunyan. All the same, few go so far as the testimonial, quoted by the publishers, that "Superman represents all that modern American youth ever hopes to be, physically, morally, and spiritually." Superman figures on both film (Columbia, starring Kirk Alyn) and television, while a pin-up magazine, *Sir*, for January, 1953, carried an article called "America May Become a Race of Supermen." The heading under this title ran, "We're getting taller and healthier by the year and scientists predict we'll be supermen in two centuries." I paused at that, for I thought I'd read it before somewhere, and so I had, in Hitler's *Mein Kampf*:

> We all feel that in the distant future man may be faced with problems which can be solved only by a superior race of human beings, *a race destined to become master of all the other peoples.*

In the text of the *Sir* article, geneticists are invoked to back the theory that Americans are growing taller and stronger than other races—"We are actually the tallest national group in the world." Here we read also that "Our girls are steadily increasing in height, too." So, keeping in mind that there is, you know, a set of comics of this type called *Master Comics*, let us glance for a moment at Superman's sister and observe similar tendencies at "play" among the ladies in this star-cast genre.

As with the males, the prototype is far more mystical in nature than the belligerent lesser fry, and consequently less unpleasant. Wonder Woman possesses, in Gershon Legman's neat words, "the drum-majorette patriotism of star-spangled panties and spread-eagled breasts."

This type of comic-book is said to be aimed at teen-age girls, and such would seem to be the audience, judging from the advertisements carried, which are for lonely hearts clubs ("Don't *Deny* Love!"), exotic nightdress ("Real Peek-a-Boo Frenchie"), bust creams, reducing devices, dancing lessons, and pills to provide against halitosis.

The most popular Wonder Woman heroine is apparently Sheena, a herculean blonde with hair to the waist, whose uniform is a leopard-skin swimsuit cut high on the thigh, and who wears large earrings, bangles on her wrists and ankles, and two gold bands about her biceps (jewelry is "in" this year). Sheena regularly goes through all hell and back.

In a typical story, in *Jumbo Comics* no. 155, Sheena is clubbed by savages, forced to walk the plank, keel-hauled behind a ship ("if the crocs do not get you . . . then my seven tests will"), thrown to lions, and left to a herd of rogue elephants, all in nine pages. Firehair, a well-developed redhead, clubs four men in *Rangers Comics* no. 63, and Tiger Girl, in *Fight Comics* no. 78, is thrown to crocodiles (these "crocs" again—this time they end by fighting each other for her!), and, when saved, metes out justice to mere males with a ferocious bull-whip—"Then the fury-song of that singing whip . . . " (In *Famous Funnies* no. 204 there is a quite detailed, near-pathological whipping of a colored man by a brawny, bosomy girl Queen).

Biceps and an aggressive personality are the *sine qua non* of the Wonder Woman heroine, who gives our high-school girl a strenuous level to live up to. With the constant tying, whipping, slapping, branding, and general torturing that continue throughout these books, there might be some justification for thinking that Wonder Woman is condemned by psychiatrists. By precious few. Until recently *Wonder Woman* itself was *written* by a psychiatrist, "Charles Moulton," pseudonym of the late Dr. William Moulton Marston, AB, LLB, PHD (Harvard). And Dr. Lauretta Bender, who appears on the "Editorial Advisory Board" of Superman National Comics, calls the whole type "A strikingly advanced concept of femininity."

Now there are various defenses of the comic book. The most common runs something like this: Children need aggressive outlets—if it isn't the comics, it'll be something else, and in any case comics have always existed in some form or another.

It may well be that violent literature has always been available to children, from medieval martyrologies down to Wells, Poe, and Edgar Rice Burroughs. In fact, in June, 1949, the New York State Library at Albany staged just such an exhibit, coming down to the first American comic strip, Swinnerton's *Little Bears and Tigers* of 1892. But at no time until now has mankind been able to boast that a multi-million-dollar industry exists, geared to the provision of a literature of violence for children.

Al Capp, creator of the *Li'l Abner* strip, has defended comic books by saying that Dickens, Stevenson, and Shakespeare were packed with "very juicy murders, lots of rip-roaring crime and violence . . . and S-E-X, too!" Josette Frank, Educational Associate of the Child Study Association of America, has made the same plea, instancing Homer. Dr. Bender has added Aristotle. But you have to be able to *read* to read Shakespeare. You have to use your imagination. If Shakespeare had wanted to express himself in pictures, doubtless he would have painted them himself. In any case the death-toll of the bloodiest Shakespearian tragedy is about a third of that of a crime-does-not-pay book, and about a thirty-third of *Combat Casey*. Does not the generation whose childhood yen for adventure yarns was satisfied by Mark Twain or Stevenson feel that in consequence experience is the deeper, life the richer, for this early training of the imaginative faculties?

The whole point about comics is that they differ from the fairy story in that they rob the child of imaginative possibilities. One could add, also, that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you have to be able to read to enjoy most fairy stories. Even those conducted solely by pictures cannot really be advanced in objection to my argument, since the equation of this kind with television means that all children are to be kept at the pace of the youngest.

Juvenile delinquency in the USA is almost as high as it was in the period at the end of World War II—and it is rising steadily. Approximately one million children get into trouble resulting in police action every year. Most of these are between the ages of ten and seventeen. The delinquents often exhibited a highly practical knowledge of clinical psychology. When arrested, they have been known to talk long and movingly about father frustrations, sibling jealousies, and so on. Apparently the girls were as tough as the boys. Manhattan police state: "These junior gun-molls are tougher than the guys!"

The really depressing thing is how often all this has been said before and how little heed taken of the warnings given. In 1924 Irving Babbitt wrote of daily newspapers: "Whole forests are being ground into pulp daily to minister to our triviality." Ten years later Percy Wyndham Lewis added the comment: "How often has it not been pointed out that it is useless to talk of No More War, or World Disarmament, while millions of children are being fed with a warlike ideology?" I. A. Richards wrote at about the same time: "If we wish for a population easy to control by suggestion, we shall decide what repertory of suggestions it shall be susceptible to and encourage this tendency except in the few." This is the same as the Jesuit saying: "Give us a child until he is six, and then you may do what you like with him." Some critics, however, still seem proud of the propaganda for war the comics are serving to children. Thus — *horresco referens* — *The Times Literary Supplement* for May 29, 1953, writes in a leader: "Besides, comics are also being used with the best of intentions for good purposes. They—as far as sheer numbers of people are concerned—did more to unite and steel America for war than President Roosevelt's speeches." *I'll say they did.* They are also applying habits of mind of war to peace in our children.

Mr. Wagner's essay is excerpted from his new book Parade of Pleasure *(Library Publishers; $5).*

—THE EDITORS

A German Radical of the Right

by George N. Shuster

THE earlier writings of Ernst von Salomon, who as a boy of twenty achieved notoriety as one of three assassins of a prominent statesman of the Weimar Republic, are not wholly unknown to English readers. But they hardly gave advance notice of the depth and range of the present book, which while far from pleasant or edifying explodes like something akin to TNT. The German catastrophe was so overwhelming in scope and significance that it is little wonder few have written about it with more distinction than sentiment. There are two good novels—B. E. Werner's *Slave Ship* and Ernst Wiechart's *Missa sine Nomine* — and a slender volume of excellent short stories, *The Torso,* by Elizabeth Langgaesser. One might perhaps add Theodor Plivier's *Stalingrad,* watered down in the form we know from an earlier pro-Stalinist version, and Gertrud von le Fort's *Coronet of Angels*, which is concerned exclusively with religious issues and problems. None of these has the gusto of Salomon's arrogant, exasperating and nevertheless challenging book. That it has been so widely read in Germany does not indicate wholesale acceptance there of the points of view it expressed. The fact is that nothing else so readable or so gripping has been written about the German disaster.

Fragebogen. (The Questionnaire), by Ernst von Salomon; preface by Goronwy Rees; translation by Constantine Fits Gibbon (Doubleday; $6).

After victory had been achieved in 1945, Allied Military Government officials sought to filter out of the German psyche the virus of Nazism. The principal device used was a questionnaire more familiarly known as the *Fragebogen.* Information was requested under 131 headings, ranging all the way from the weight and height of those interrogated to their political opinions and activities. Filling it out kept many people busy for weeks and added noticably to the supply of German perspiration. Salomon's book presents thorough answers to all the more pertinent queries and sometimes frivolous, ironical or venemous responses to others. "Remarks" are appended, and these deal with the first period of the American occupation, leaving no assumed misdeed uncastigated. This is the framework, and it enables the author to tell the story of his life in fragments that oddly enough piece themselves together in a narrative which has an unexpected and grimly fascinating unity.

THE situation outlined is one which most foreign readers will find difficult to understand and harder still to view with any measure of sympathy. So accustomed are we to believing that every revolutionary movement comes from the Left that one of our most distinguished poets has recently contended that even Senator McCarthy hails from this segment of the compass. In Europe, however, opposition to the status quo has often been rampant in ultra-conservative circles. The shock of overwhelming defeat, from which Germany began to suffer in 1918 and from which it has not even yet recovered, is a complex phenomenon but one of its principal characteristics is that it has pitted Socialist, Liberal, authoritarian and totalitarian against one another. The authoritarian for his part believed in some sort of caste system; the totalitarian staked his fortunes on the proletariat, not the poor seen as those who were to rule but rather as those who being ruled would root out competition with other orders of society.

Salomon experienced this trauma as a boy soldier trained to consider service to the state the highest form of social action. Religious values were deemed, in the wake of Nietzsche, no longer pertinent; and the bourgeois—the man who yearned not to live dangerously—was the incarnation of everything farcical and decadent in human life and history. Radicals (such as Salomon then was) were not individualists. They longed,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as he indicates, for a collectivity to which they could commit their bodies and their souls. With like-minded associates he fought against pro-Communists, against the Poles in the border regions, against the Bolsheviks in the Baltic States, and against Separatists in the Rhineland.

Then on a fateful day the boy decided, in company with two of his fellows, to shoot down in cold blood Walther Rathenau, Minister in the Cabinet of the Republic, an eminent representative of the German Jewish community. For this atrocious misdeed he was sentenced to prison. All these things are to be described only as acts of nationalistic madness; and there is no attempt in the book to exonerate the author from responsibility for them. No one else has written this story more penetratingly, with the kind of cold-blooded factualness and aloofness which suggests the hard crust of nihilistic frost. Still the people he talks about were intensely alive. They were soldiers who had won every sort of medal on the field of battle, who could not get used to the idea of being civilians tinged with failure and a measure of ignominy. They were also intellectuals and they were unemployed.

FREE

With a subscription to The CHURCHMAN . . .

"Liberal Thoughts for Everyday Living"

A new booklet of wise and witty thoughts of great liberals—from Samuel Adams to Adlai Stevenson.

Liberals everywhere will be reading, *talking about* "Liberal Thoughts for Everyday Living"—filled with memorable quotations to spur your own thought and action.

Not for sale anywhere at any price, this booklet is free when you subscribe to The CHURCHMAN—now in its 152nd year as a spokesman for freedom. And the rate is 14 issues for only $2—$1.50 under regular costs. So use coupon below today.

The CHURCHMAN
118 East 28th St. • New York 16, N.Y.
Enter CHURCHMAN subscription for 14 issues at only $2 and send free "Liberal Thoughts for Everyday Living". My $2 is enclosed.

Name .....

Address .....

..... N

It is also difficult even yet to persuade Americans that such men saw nothing to admire in Adolf Hitler. But it is a fact. The antipathy was not merely personal, though no doubt the sinister plebeian wounded their sense of decency,, but was derived rather from the psychological lesion from which they all suffered. It seemed to them that the great defeat should have dictated not the dispersal and squandering of German energies but rather their husbanding in authoritarian and hierarchical patterns. They desired a fresh beginning—Germany would after all save the world—but they could not adjust themselves to the fact that a start in history cannot be made by moving backwards. Had they been able to merge themselves in the enterprise of the Weimar Republic there might have been a different story to tell. But they were so immersed in the ingloriousness of their subjection to the French and the British that they forgot about mankind.

At any rate there emerges from these pages a view of Hitler and Nazism which, unlike though it may be the forms of detestation we know, is revealing and impressive. On many a gripping page Salomon tells the story of such incidents as the purge of 1934 with a biting scorn and a sense of horrified frustration which will keep his writing on such themes alive for a long time to come. For instance, he knew Captain Roehm as perhaps no other literate survivor has known him; and the account of Hitler rubbing his bloody hands over the radio after assorted murders reflects a kind of sombre heart-break unduplicated in German writing. That while he speaks candidly about the shame of his country he can at the same time ceaselessly, often madly, pummel away at what he terms conceit and unctuousness of foreigners will all too probably seem stiffnecked and unrepentant Prussianism. His is a little like the stand a hypothetical Daughter of the American Revolution would have had to take if Huey Long had become dictator of our fortunes and decreed shooting up the Army and Navy Clubs.

The tragedy of the German ultra-Rightists was that while they foresaw what was bound to happen if Hitler came to power, they found no proponents of the opposition with whom they could ally themselves. National Socialism was a scrofulous disease which fastened upon the nation. Salomon, in a passage which has already been set down to his discredit, avows that he cannot understand what democracy is—that indeed, it was because Hitler espoused democratic methods that he triumphed. Alas, this is a point of view which pervades Europe. Derouted by revolutions having as their authors men as diverse as Robespierre and Marx, the citizens of the Old World have by and large no acquaintance with political institutions anchored in law and tracing their origins to authors as ancient as Cicero, Polybius, Isaiah and Aristotle.

But come to power the Nazis did, and from this point Salomon's tale is a macabre one. The "radicals of the Right" were ultimately reduced to a squad of eight men. Salomon concluded that nobody could do anything about the situation; and his strictures on some of the "men of July, 1944," who engineered a serious attempt to assassinate Hitler, are severe. Meanwhile the annexation of Austria inevitably happened, the synagogues were burned down, old companions fell victims to the fury of the dictator. Meanwhile life went on; and by way of bitter counterpoint Salomon narrates the story of everyday existence. He traces unforgettable portraits of Rowohlt the publisher and Othmar Spann, the unworldly Austrian political theorist. He etches in the contours of a love affair or two, and pitilessly exposes the moral hollowness of the time. This is not inappropriate, for as a result the inner weaknesses of European society are made to strut about in all their nakedness.

Germany is suffered to come into its own finally, but not in a manner likely to endear it to foreign observers. The conflict, which has unloosed a hail of bombs on old cities, is nearing its close. Resistance has been ordered, to the last man. But the Bavarians in their gabled towns have decided that the "empire of a thousand years" is about to pass from the scene not with a bang but with the mightiest whimper in all time. The rising decreed becomes a flamboyant, a truly baroque act of sabotage. The last glimmerings of Nazi might are extinguished by a resistance which is born of a people's uncanny recourse to the cynicism which is upon occasion an antidote to despair.

Thus far the book, with its blend of the homely and familiar with commentaries on matters of vital political

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moment, is a moving and vivid even if frequently biased and irritating statement of a man's experience. Unfortunately Salomon, smarting under indignities experienced at the hands of invading American troops, appends "Remarks" on this subject to which one may well object that notable though the sins of our compatriots have been, they do not add up to even a fragment of the crimes done at Auschwitz and Theresienstadt. It is true that the CIC and other inquisitorial agencies often acted with gross contempt for the rules of the game. In the first flush of victory they counted German scalps and forgot what was to loom up later. But the American people surmounted these excesses with astonishing rapidity. Had it not been for them, Salomon would never have lived to write his book. Perhaps, since charity is a virtue, one may surmise that he now knows this.

Nevertheless his commentary, in so many ways strange and disturbing, is an antidote to the official and officious writing on the German and the European situation. It makes clear that the dread maladies of the recent past have turned round a sense of injustice corroding human nature and making impossible the full flowering of the energies from which recuperation might have come. It may seem an odd thing to say, but as I read Salomon's book I was reminded again and again of the great novelist who was Charles Dickens. Even he did not set down a record of a den of scoundrels more perfidious than are assembled in this book and perhaps even he did not append to the description more mordant editorial comment. But unlike Dickens, Salomon does not tell us of a human nature in which he has faith. His is the sombre mood of the Apocalypse, with perhaps a faint adumbration of a solution so impossible that it is not even Utopian. But the great Englishman, able to bring even *Barnaby Rudge* to a conclusion worthy of the nature of man, knew that defeat can never preclude ultimate moral victory. How one wishes that the German people could evoke not merely a great testimonial to bitterness and resentment but also to confidence in the future. Meanwhile we shall have to take the Salomon book as it is. Perhaps its stinging review of the sins we have ourselves committed will somehow help to make it possible for us to play more worthily our parts on the human stage.

American Taste and Whimsy

by Weldon Kees

ONE of the remarkable aspects of taste is that no one, in my presence at least, has ever verbally admitted that his own taste is bad. Most of us have confessed at one time or another to past mistakes in judgment, timing, or decorum, to a lack of consideration, to bad manners, to moral laxity, and even—where taste is directly involved—to "lapses" of taste. These often have to do with miscalculations about the endurance value of a decorative or art object. ("That Stamos I bought last year hasn't worn well at all. Bert thinks he can trade it to the Cutlers for that Congo mask they're so sick of." "After two years of Eames chairs, I couldn't be tireder; we're moving over to Robsjohn-Gibbings, and fast." "I don't know what I was thinking of when I picked out that wallpaper with the Scotties on it.") The point here is that corrections can always, or almost always, be made; but the basic individual taste remains eternally unquestioned. Even such bewildered parties as those who ultimately fall back on W. & J. Sloane to furnish their homes throughout and pay that firm to place its recognized aesthetic imprimatur on it, or those who ask the sofa salesman at Penney's to suggest an ottoman that "goes well," are only momentarily "uncertain"; they proclaim their faith in sources of true authority that can be turned to when an aesthetic choice becomes a problem.

The Tastemakers, by Russell Lynes (Harper; $5).

And taste today, as Mr. Russell Lynes points out in his new book, is a large problem indeed:

> The mere matter of how we decorate our homes is only a minor part of our concern. There are pressures on our tastes from all sides, pressures that even the most reluctant among us can scarcely ignore. The making of taste in America is, in fact, a major industry. Is there any other place that you can think of where there are so many professionals telling so many nonprofessionals what their taste should be? Is there any country which has as many magazines as we have devoted to telling people how they should decorate their homes, clothe their bodies, and deport themselves in company?

Probably not. The history of taste in this country is a large subject, and a fascinating one; Mr. Lynes' approach is by way of the persons and "forces" that have shaped American taste. It is a fair history, but not much more than that; it lacks both structure and a sense of continuity. Only events in this century and not all of the nineteenth are covered (Lynes begins in the last years of the 1820's when "the long period of control by . . . a landed and intellectual aristocracy" was ending) and his segmented treatment suggests a piecing together of magazine articles rather than an organic work. Some of his research is very impressive, and throughout the book, passages turn up that have material of considerable interest. *The Tastemakers* is the only work of its kind; but it is not in the same company with a similar book on the British, Sprague Allen's *Tides in English Taste*, a vastly more thorough, accurate, and entertaining piece of work. Mr. Francis Henry Taylor of the Metropolitan Museum has called *The Tastemakers* "a mature and thoughtful book . . . often very profound." *De gustibus*, of course but look at the taste of Mr. Francis Henry Taylor, not only by way of his writings on art but as set forth in the redecorating job at the Metropolitan, with its Dorothy Draper modrun dining room, white and chartreuse, with cold chicken patties and a pervasive sense of even deeper chills surrounding them.

It would nevertheless be a mistake not to appreciate the skill and time that Mr. Lynes has expended on such figures as the landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing, such early collectors as Luman Reed and Thomas Jefferson Bryan, on Charles Lock Eastlake, the author of *Hints on Household Taste* (1872), and Elsie de Wolfe, who spread her decorative ideas across the country, from the Crockers of San Francisco to the Weyerhausers of Minneapolis and on to the Fifth Avenue Mansion of Henry C. Frick. Even so skimpy an account of the Armory Show as the one Mr. Lynes has set down has a cer-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tain value, and his chapter on the suburbs is one of the best things in his book.

But it struck me that what Mr. Lynes has borne down on most heavily is not taste, but whim. Lynes is not so much interested in "tastemakers" as he is in the amusement to be provided through the changing styles and fads promoted by commercial interests in the fields of painting, design, architecture and interior decoration. It could probably not have been otherwise, since Mr. Lynes says that he does not know what taste is, that no one is capable of defining taste, and that he is quite in the dark about what *good* taste is. With this kind of an approach—and with ourselves equally blank as to what Mr. Lynes' own tastes are—it is hard to know what he is getting at when he writes that "taste in itself is nothing. It is only what taste leads to that makes any difference in our lives." But where? Mr. Lynes apparently has some kind of desire to indicate a sense of direction, but his index finger waves and wanders. About all that he can conclude is that people worry about taste too much and should stop it.

But I am not sure that I understand Mr. Lynes. One of his specialties has been the rough categorizing of human beings into the divisions of lowbrow, middlebrow, and highbrow. His famous piece of some years ago is reprinted here, in which he is by turns patronizing, Olympian, condescending and severe about "highbrows," annoyed or amused by "middlebrows" (but not if they happen to be *his* kind of middlebrow), and more of the same about lowbrows. In what pigeonhole does Mr. Lynes place himself? We never know. Reading *The Tastemakers* is rather like talking to someone who tells endless stories about other people—some of them amusing, some ironic and some merely informative, but who is careful never to commit himself. It is hard to deal with the issues raised by questions of taste if you are, like Mr. Lynes, so organized that you appear, on one hand, to dislike the democratization of taste and, on the other, are contemptuous of the "highbrows"—even a highbrow that Mr. Lynes creates in much the way that Frankenstein created a monster.

What Mr. Lynes appears to dislike most about "highbrows" is that some of them are impatient with frivolity in the arts. But Mr. Lynes himself is pretty impatient, almost irritable, with someone like Mr. Clement Greenberg, who performed as a "tastemaker" in a very real and active sense for many years, repeatedly sticking out his neck for artists he admired when the magazines, museums, and the general public were indifferent or contemptuous towards them. And Lynes rarely steers in the direction of many actual "tastemakers" of this or any other kind—toward men such as Walter Arensberg and John Quinn, art collectors and patrons of the arts of an independent cast of mind that have almost vanished; toward men who not only had taste but knew how to express it and had something to say about it—Tocqueville, Henry James, Randolph Bourne, Paul Rosenfeld, and Gilbert Seldes, for instance.

We have to assume, in these matters, that some people know more than others—just as we know that Stravinsky knows more about music than the leader of a Boy Scout band in Kansas—that the taste of a Matisse was superior to that of Rockwell Kent, that Erich von Stroheim's taste ranges wider than Stanley Kramer's or Joe Pasternak's, and that Ezra Pound's goes beyond any of the Benêts. Mr. Lynes says that the "highbrow"—a figure who gets dimmer to me before he gets clearer—is "devoted to the proposition that the arts must be pigeonholed." Who? Mr. Lynes pigeonholes human beings.

Political Book Club

A very small quantity of books previously recommended by Gerald W. Johnson, Max Lerner and Michael Straight are available at sharply reduced cost.

Age of Suspicion
by James Wechsler **$2.50**

But We Were Born Free
by Elmer Davis **$2.15**

European Communism
by Franz Borkenau **$4.50**

The Man Behind Roosevelt
by Lela Styles **$3.25**

Copies can be ordered from

NEW REPUBLIC
1826 Jefferson Pl. N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

FILMS

It is a serious pity that one can only praise the film version of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* as a valuable beginning or experiment, and hardly more than that. For the project, under the sponsorship of Louis de Rochemont, was clearly given the benefit of a great deal of intelligence, devotion and skill, to say almost nothing of the amount of money involved. The reviews in the daily newspaper have already pronounced the damnation of faint praise upon the film with a genuine kindness which will serve no purpose and certainly will not help at the box office.

Animal Farm (a full-length animated cartoon based on George Orwell's novel, produced by Louis de Rochemont).

One can only hope that Mr. de Rochemont, and others of like mind and intention, will not draw premature and discouraging conclusions on the basis of one effort. For despite Disney, the medium of the animated film is largely a *terra incognita* in which an enormous number of possibilities wait to be discovered, unearthed or invented. The heights and depths of these possibilities will be recognized as soon as one remembers the rich actuality of the literary masterpieces which virtually plead for the vivid translation of visual animation. Everyone will think of *Gulliver's Travels*; but there is a great deal else, beginning with the inexhaustible El Dorado of the great folklores and mythologies and concluding with certain of Kafka's best stories and some of the most inspired passages in *Finnegans Wake*. There is also the more distant and difficult possibility, which the makers of the film of *Animal Farm* have previously attempted, of using the animated film for visual versions of some kinds of lyric poetry; the most valuable augmentation, interpretation and orchestration seems possible, a veritable new dimension in which the folk ballad becomes a little opera.

The animated film of *Animal Farm*, considered in itself and apart from its close connection with Orwell's text, mostly lacks that characteristic verve and *brio* which is the most enchanting immediate quality of film cartoons at their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

best. The resources of style and stylization which Disney drew upon in his best films—in the *Silly Symphonies* perhaps most of all—are present in the film of *Animal Farm* only briefly and erratically in a few passages.

The essential dynamism of the animated film (which apparently requires, of necessity, the framework and support of a musical score) has its source in the ancient supernaturalism or magic realism which is at the heart of all poetry: metaphor and metamorphosis, metaphor and miracle, transition as transformation, incident as epiphany, action as advent must continually occur and emerge as if the universe were being created anew, a fact which may have made Disney attempt to depict the first morning of the world in one of his most ambitious, unfortunate undertakings. In Disney, as in all masters of the film cartoon, a locomotive lunches on railroad tracks like celery, a dog's ears revolve like electric fans, automobiles waltz, tango and do the Charleston, pigs play the piano, roosters chant Wagner, dogs skate on ice rinks, trees applaud and boo, curtsey and snicker. However this be formulated, as metaphor, miracle or Ovidean metamorphosis, the crucial process, which the medium itself demands, is the delightful, triumphant transcendence of the laws of nature and the probabilities of experience; the film cartoon must be a supernatural ballet. Yet there is only one moment in *Animal Farm* when anything of the sort occurs, the point, towards the end, at which the faces of the pig dictators who have betrayed the revolution on the farm fade into the visage of the drunken and brutal farmer. But this effect is trite in itself, rendered with timidity, and so unlike the prevailing idiom of the entire film that it is at once ineffective and gratuitous.

Some sense of what may have gone wrong suggests itself when one returns to Orwell's text, which is used abundantly as a verbal accompaniment and followed with an unnecessary literal fidelity. Orwell's fable is the penultimate expression of a complex social and moral pilgrimage, the kind of a journey which few human beings and fewer writers have either the courage or the opportunity to make. The dry tone and spare style of Orwell's text is implicit with the disillusion and heartbroken disappointment of a desperately honest human being who had lived to see the greatest and best social hope of human beings converted into a cynical despotism which equalled that of Fascism, or perhaps exceeded it, in the very real sense that its leaders and supporters were for the most part not gangsters and careerists, but dedicated martyred heroes and millions of men of good will. *Animal Farm* was written with a sense of ultimate disappointment in the historical process as such, and perhaps also a hopelessness about the gullibility of human beings as an organized political mass. Orwell's state of mind was as painful as it was rare, being the product of sophistication, innocence, hope and suffering combined. Little of this sense of things gets into the animation of *Animal Farm*, despite the abundant quotation from the text. What is characteristic and, in a way, effective is the episode when the faithful, hardworking horse, Boxer, collapses and is shipped with pure callousness to the glue factory. But this has the quality of an instance of cruelty to animals, not a betrayal of a social ideal or political injustice. It is true that heretofore the animated film has for the most part avoided direct social satire and devoted itself to pure comedy, and most of all to the purely poetic comedy of which Disney is the most eminent master. But political cartoons show—and the example of *Gulliver's Travels* suggests—how the methods and resources of the animated medium are naturally satirical.

It is hard to be sure what a person unacquainted with Orwell's little book or ignorant of the history of the Soviet Union would make of the images of the film. For one thing, the boars and pigs who become the totalitarian tyrants of the animal politburo resemble, at times, British politicians of the past generation — Ernest Bevin most of all; although at one point there is a gleam of resemblance to Churchill's plump baby face, there is, on the other hand, no suggestion of Stalin, Molotov or Malenkov. This strange impression is increased by speeches uttered in a strong British accent and it is intensified by parliamentary mannerisms and procedures. Although the effect occurs only in passing, it is but one among many aspects of the film which tend to make one think that to a Rip Van Winkle or a Martian man the film might seem to be an attack on the British Labour Party or a parable of the vanity and foolishness of all political and social reform.

Purely as a matter of method, there is certainly too much of a reliance upon literal transposition and Orwell's text, just as there is certainly too little effort to respond to the animated strip as a playground for the visual imagination. Whatever doubts one might have about this judgment disappear when one reads the description of how the film was produced in *The Animated Film*, by Roger Manvell, who reports that the makers of the film "before they began their work, had to prepare themselves to recreate the life of an English farm . . . " and hence "they had spent much time on farms observing animal movement and behavior." That this is misplaced conscientiousness is a fact disregarded by Mr. Manvell, although when he comes to speak of the entire medium, he says:

> . . . the master of the animated film is complete master of the way in which he presents his artificial world to the audience . . . he can reproduce actuality with [a] final degree of representationalism. But he would be ill-advised to do so. Representationalism is better left to the action film, to which it belongs by nature.

It is unfortunate that this principle has so little influence upon the making of the film. But on the other hand, it is quite foolish to forget how difficult, under any circumstances, it would have been to be adequate to the parable of an author who wrote with the feeling that he no longer wanted nor had any reason to live. DELMORE SCHWARTZ

Notes on the Critics

GEOFFREY WAGNER is a British novelist and critic who lives in Harlem. GEORGE N. SHUSTER is the president of Hunter College. WELDON KEES has just published a collection of *Poems 1947-1954*, some of which have appeared in this magazine. DELMORE SCHWARTZ is at work on a long poem.

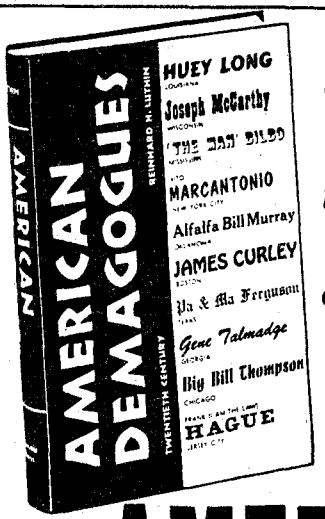
ON YOUR NEXT TRIP East or West on US Highway 80 stop at Guilbert's Pharmacy, Gila Bend, Arizona. An oasis in the desert.

TOWARD A THEORY OF CREATIVITY—Lead article by Carl R. Rogers in current issue of ETC., official journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms tend to limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write Dept. 22, 400 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

SOCIALIST BOOKS. Catalog, literature, Free. New York Labor News Company, Dept. N, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38, New York.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"swift-moving, sometimes funny, sometimes terrifying, but at all times eminently readable." SATURDAY REVIEW

REINHARD H. LUTHIN'S

AMERICAN DEMAGOGUES

A new Political Book Club recommendation

The three judges of the *New Republic's* POLITICAL BOOK CLUB (Gerald W. Johnson, Max Lerner and Michael Straight) have chosen this 369-page portrait of "the mobmasters of 20th century American politics" as their latest offering to *New Republic* readers. Here are the documented careers of Huey Long, Joseph McCarthy, Bilbo, Marcantonio, Alfalfa Bill Murray, James Curley, Pa and Ma Ferguson, Gene Talmadge, Big Bill Thompson, Frank Hague—published by *Beacon Press.*

Regularly $5 **$2.95** **You save $2.05**

"Careful, learned study"—N. Y. Times. *"Almost any reader with a vital interest in American politics will find this volume unfailingly interesting"*—Richard Hofstadter.

"It is important to be 'up' on one's demagogues. In this scholarly, biographical piece of excellent reporting, occasionally spiced with dry sardonics, Mr. Luthin rounds them up."

Chattanooga Times

TEAR OFF HERE

NEW REPUBLIC
1826 Jefferson Pl. N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Yes, please send me promptly AMERICAN DEMAGOGUES at the special Political Book Club price of $2.95, which I enclose.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ STATE_____

Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED